

# PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## MORE YOUNG SOLDIERS FOR CYPRUS

### Protests in Glasgow

By Emrys Hughes, M.P.

MORE soldiers for Cyprus! And some of them young National Servicemen who have only been in the Army ten weeks!

This news appears in the Scots edition of the Daily Herald for last Saturday, under the headline: BOY SOLDIERS FOR CYPRUS; SCOTS MOTHERS STORM.

We were told underneath:—

"Angry Scots mothers yesterday watched their teenage sons—10 weeks in the Army—parade for the last time before going to Cyprus.

"The 65 boy soldiers were on a Highland Light Infantry recruits passing-out parade at the regimental depot, Maryhill Barracks, Glasgow. After a fortnight's embarkation leave they will join the HLI's 1st Battalion ordered to Cyprus yesterday.

"A wave of protest swept Glasgow yesterday as the news spread."

#### 'Parents should band together'

There was a photograph of the young lads marching past in their kilts. The families of some of them had come to see the parade. But they were not told until afterwards what it meant. When they were told that the boys were going to Cyprus one of the mothers, Mrs. Sadie MacDonald, mother of the 18-year-old Private Ian MacDonald, said:

"We parents should band together and stop this. I have two sons coming on after Ian. The same thing could happen to them.

"At today's parade the officer did not tell us that our boys might be going to Cyprus."

And what about the lads themselves? Private Francis King, of Balornock, who is married, said:

"I don't want to go." His young wife added: "Imagine how I feel left with two babies."

Another mother, Mrs. Margaret Holt, of Knightswood, Glasgow, said:

"It would be different if the boys had been specially trained. It has come as a great shock."

ON BACK PAGE

## TENSION RISING IN RHODESIA

From our Correspondent in Lusaka, N. Rhodesia

OUTSIDE his primitive Native hut in an African compound here, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, President of the 80,000-strong African Congress, gave a solemn warning through me to "people in authority" in Northern Rhodesia. He said:

"We shall try everything constitutional to get our aims put into practice. But if our cry falls on deaf ears we must turn to unconstitutional means—and this may not be very pleasant for Europeans."

Among the items listed in the Congress programme for 1956 is the aim to have 12 Africans in Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council by 1958, with the same number elected by British subjects and the balance of power held by civil servants. (At present only four Africans sit in council.)

#### Full franchise demanded

Says the programme statement: "The African people will accept nothing short of full adult franchise, with no reserved seats or other special safeguards for minority groups."

Congress says it agrees that this can only be achieved gradually, but adds, "Each step shall not be so long delayed that adults of today cannot foresee the ultimate realisation of ideal in their own lifetime."

President Nkumbula, the chain-smoking hero of many thousands of Central Africans, was sent to the London School of Economics by the Northern Rhodesian Government and later, on a British Council Scholarship.

When he addresses the enthusiastic masses at African Congress meetings he invariably wears the London School of Economics blazer.

Only two weeks ago Nkumbula returned from his second visit to London, having successfully persuaded a four-man Labour Party delegation to take up Congress's case in the House of Commons.

Despite the Northern Rhodesian Government's policy of "partnership" in the Terri-

tory (the partnership of horse and rider, say the Africans) a rigid "unofficial" colour-bar exists.

While Africans and Asiatics are permitted to rent or own property in "White" residential areas, no one ever has. The application seldom gets further than the "In" tray on some tight-lipped civil servants desk.

Some European shops still refuse to serve Africans, and those that do, only do so because they were picketed into it a few years ago. There are "White" and "Black" counters in all post offices and other Government offices. And the quickest way to ostracism for a European is to invite an African to his home.

The only place in Northern Rhodesia where the African, Indian and European can mix socially on equal terms is at the Multi-racial Club in Lusaka, the capital of the Territory.

Of the club's 400-odd members about 100 are Europeans—and they are frequently criticised, and even ostracised, by so-called conventional members of the European community.

#### The European attitude

Today, mounting tension can be felt throughout the territory.

The common European attitude is that the African must be kept down. The voice of the liberal-minded "White" is drowned by the colour-biased majority.

There are two sections of African thought, too.

While the extreme Congress member advocates it is time the "White" man was driven out of Central Africa, his more level-headed brother says, "Let the European stay; but make him give us the opportunity of being his equal economically, politically and socially."

A man who has been on the staff of the Bonn (Germany) Prison is to be in charge of the first batch of volunteers for the new German Army.

British Quakers have asked their Peace Committee to consider the whole matter of H-bomb tests further and report to the next meeting of the Society's Executive.

Let Britain lead—page two

# OPPOSITION TO BRITISH H-TEST GROWS

Peace News Reporter

## "BRITAIN'S JOB SHOULD BE TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN STOPPING THE TESTS."

In these words the New Statesman last week summed up a growing trend in Britain which, following a call from the Pope for the ending of H-bomb tests, is being reflected in the editorial and correspondence columns of many British newspapers.

#### The moral factor—'of highest significance'

The Conservative Daily Telegraph said editorially on January 14: "It is no secret that plans are already under way for an eventual British H-bomb explosion."

"Scientists are sharply divided about the genetic effects of radiation, and an alarmist view cannot be equivocally endorsed."

"But dogmatism apart, we should all be relieved for many reasons if the volume of explosions could be everywhere curtailed."

The Daily Telegraph went on to declare that—

"In the struggle for competitive co-existence, the moral factor is of the highest significance."

#### Urge re-examination of H-tests ban

On the previous day the Sunday Observer had urged that Sir Anthony Eden's visit to Washington should be made the occasion for a "serious re-examination of the rash refusals by both Britain and America to discuss a limitation of further nuclear test explosions."

US developments of H-weapons, said the New Statesman, "make nonsense of Sir Anthony's refusal to examine the Soviet offer to ban H-bomb tests."

"In the tests to date America has a qualitative lead with a bomb of 17 megatons against the latest Russian bomb of about 5 megatons. But now the Americans say that, as the Russian bomb was exploded in the air, and not detonated on a tower, they must make a similar test."

"Where do we go from here?"

"The Prime Minister's petulant insistence in the Commons that an immediate ban on tests, before the British bomb had been exploded, would condemn us to a position of decisive inferiority to other great powers, looks sillier than ever."

"Is our bang to be bigger still?"

"And what becomes of the claim that, in these matters, we must stand on our own feet if Britain is to give American missiles the run of the West Indies?"

"The truth is that this country will always be in a position of 'decisive inferiority' in the nuclear race and that Britain's job should be to take the initiative in stopping the tests—as a first step towards stopping the whole suicidal stampede."

#### Religious leaders' pleas

The Pope's plea for an end to tests was strongly endorsed by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Leeds during a TV "Press Conference."

An appeal to Sir Anthony Eden and President Eisenhower to "face the moral issue" of the hydrogen bomb in their forthcoming talks, has been made by the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. George Bell (famed for his campaign

## Off to prison with his clarinet

DON ALEXANDER walked into Newcastle-upon-Tyne Court last week with his clarinet, music-stand and music case, prepared to take them to prison.

He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for refusing to be called up. He had failed to submit himself for medical examination on the previous day.

A member of the Newcastle War Resisters' Group, he pleaded guilty and told the Court: "We are living in this world to try to create something good in ourselves and other people."

"I see no purpose in living if we have to do bad, wicked and immoral actions to live. If we do these things the whole purpose of life is futile."

Don Alexander is a member of the National Youth Orchestra and was hoping to take part in a forthcoming concert. He will be in prison when it takes place. He was told at the Court that he would have to ask the prison governor for facilities to continue his musical studies.

#### 'End gaoling of COs'

Commenting on this, and one other case, the Newcastle Evening Chronicle, January 14, said:

"Two more conscientious objectors were sent to gaol this week. For twelve months in one case, six months in the other, two more young men will be exposed to some of the most corroding influences in society."

Surely no one really believes that society needs protection from these two boys, or from their pacifist fervency?"

These comments may result in a national campaign to abolish gaol sentences for conscientious objectors, writes John W. Ramsey, the paper's Municipal correspondent.

Newcastle City Labour Party has decided to interview the city's four MPs on the subject, and to invite prominent people to a discussion in the hope of action on a national scale.

When John Wilkinson, aged 21, of Leicester, appeared before Leicester magistrates for refusing to be conscripted he told the court:

"I cannot love my neighbour as myself if I have to stick a bayonet in him."

## This year's tests

Britain is to engage in a series of atomic bomb tests in April in the Monte Bello islands, off the west coast of Australia.

These test may include the first explosion of a British H-bomb (although this has not been definitely announced) or of an atom bomb of the type that can be used as a "trigger" to explode an H-bomb.

After the Monte Bello test it is proposed that a new testing ground shall be brought into use at Maralinga, Central Australia. No H-bomb tests are to be undertaken there.

The US Government has announced that a new series of tests will take place in the spring at Eniwetok, in the Pacific. These bombs, it was stated, would be considerably less powerful than the H-bomb that was tested on March 1, 1954 and which killed a Japanese fisherman and injured many Marshall Islanders.

## THE BIGGEST YET

From US Congress sources come repeated statements that a bomb that will cause the greatest explosion the world has known will be tested this year.

A committee that has been reviewing US civil defence policy under the chairmanship of Gen. Nelson speaks of a bomb of the power of 50,000,000 tons of TNT—2,500 times that of the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima.

To illustrate the power of the bomb exploded at Bikini in 1954 the Manchester Guardian estimates that its equivalent in TNT would fill something like 20,000 goods trains each consisting of 50 large railway wagons. For the bomb that it is now proposed to test, 2,000,000 wagons would be required.

against the obliteration bombing of Germany in the last war).

"I appeal to them . . . at least to pledge themselves to renounce further tests and never to be the first to use hydrogen bombs," he writes in a letter to The Times.

They should do this, he urges, even if they are not yet ready for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons of all types with adequate international safeguards.

"The use of the H-bomb is a defiance of moral ideas not less great than poison gas and bacteriological warfare," writes the Bishop. "Hydrogen bombs are morally indefensible."

## The Pope's appeal . . .

In his Christmas Message, the Pope called for

1. Renunciation of experiments with nuclear weapons;
2. Renunciation of the use of such weapons; and
3. General control of armaments.

"Too many explosions would in time cause increased density of radio-active products in the atmosphere, whose diffusion depends on elements beyond man's control. Thus conditions very dangerous for many living beings would be created."

## . . . was brushed under the rug

"The sterility of American politics is reflected in the absence of any response last week, either in the President's State of the Union Message or in Democratic criticisms of it, to the Christmas Eve proposals made by the Pope on nuclear disarmament. Except for a feeble Voice of America broadcast on December 29, the Vatican's appeal has been hastily brushed under the national rug."—I. F. Stone's Weekly, January 16, 1956.



Dutch anti-militarist radio humourist, Wim Kan (left), is shown with his comedienne wife, Corrie Vonk (right), and Adriaan Viruly (centre). See pen sketch of Wim Kan on page 3.—Photo: National Foto Persbureau, Amsterdam.



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# PEACE NEWS

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## LET BRITAIN LEAD

**AIKICHI KUBOYAMA** was the first known man to die from the hydrogen bomb. He was killed in the testing of the American H-bomb in the Pacific on March 1, 1954.

How many are to follow him? How many millions?

The hydrogen bomb is born of a decaying civilisation. It is of the same family as the totalitarian state, total war, exploitation of man by man and the denial of human brotherhood.

The hydrogen bomb is more than a weapon. It is a symbol of the violence and inhumanity of our age.

The United States began this particular phase in humanity's Gadarene descent of a steep place in 1953. It was followed by Russia. Then came the testing in 1954 of the bomb said to be a destructive power a thousand times greater than the Hiroshima bomb.

Recently Russia announced that it has tested an even more powerful bomb. And now we learn that the US can test a yet more powerful bomb in 1956—a bomb equal to 2,500 of the bombs that brought dehumanising agony and death to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. All this is done despite the serious questions that have been raised as to the ultimate effects of such experiments.

Not content to observe this competition in world-scale criminal lunacy, the Government of Britain has announced that it will also have its hydrogen bomb. It is to be tested somewhere this spring.

★ ★  
**THE** ability to create this infernal machine has doubtless been a challenge to British scientists. We believe, however, that a greater challenge is presented to the British people. That challenge calls for a greater quality—the quality of courage.

If the British people could rise to accept this challenge, they could fill the hearts of the peoples of the world with hope, and Britain might well gain the moral leadership of the world on a path that would lead to its salvation.

There is sufficient reputable scientific witness to the possible evil consequences of these tests upon the whole population of the world and posterity to warrant a declaration by the British Government that it was therefore abandoning its proposed test.

Such an action would make it impossible for the United States or Russia to continue on their courses with the present mad recklessness. But it might also create a new international climate of opinion that would make possible a new international competition—a competition to abandon fear and develop the courage to risk trust in international relationships.

★ ★  
**FEARLESSNESS** and courage are essential if the descent into common destruction is to be stopped.

In such a new competition it would be our patriotic hope that Britain might continue to exercise the moral leadership she would have taken by cancelling the hydrogen bomb tests.

## From the Editor's Notebook

### Corder Catchpool

**GWEN CATCHPOOL** will be broadcasting in Woman's Hour on Jan. 25, talking about the forthcoming publication of the life of her husband, Corder (brother to Jack) who died while mountain climbing in Switzerland in 1952.

The book has been written by W. R. Hughes and will be published by Allen and Unwin, probably in April.

I believe Corder was the only absolutist conscientious objector awarded the Mons Medal in World War I.

He was in the ambulance service during the retreat, but came out of it in 1916 when conscription was introduced, and went to prison.

He was in prison when the award was made!

### Non-registrant CO's

**THERE** must have been many World War II COs who owed to Corder's writings their decision to inform the Ministry of Labour that they would neither register at the Labour Exchange for military service nor appear before a Tribunal.

This is still the position I encourage young men to take with National Service today, if they feel in their hearts it is the right thing for them to do.

### African hostels?

**E. St. JOHN** (Jack) CATCHPOOL, founder of the Youth Hostels Association is to go on a five months tour of Africa, from Cairo to the Cape, sponsored by the South African YHA.

He hopes to spend a week with Dr. Albert Schweitzer at Lambarene.

Jack Catchpool has already forged the first links of a chain of hostels across Europe to India.

Will he do the same from the Cape to Cairo?

### Peace at home

**A ONE-WOMAN** peacemaking venture is being carried on by Mrs. Elsa Hicks at her family Reunion Centre at Purley, Surrey.

To her home come estranged parents, recommended by Marriage Guidance and other bodies, for a helping hand. Mothers and children live there for a while if the family

unit has collapsed and there is a risk of the children being sent to a children's home.

Her aim is "never to allow either parent to forget the children, who require the security of both parents and the parents' love."

The Children Act has many gaps and children may sometimes be pushed around while local authorities discuss boundaries and get themselves tied up in red tape.

Mrs. Hicks, a pacifist and enthusiastic Peace News street-seller, tries hard to keep children with their parents, believing that a secure home background produces peace-loving citizens.

### Non-violent resistance

**A DUPLICATED** Non-violence Bulletin is to be issued by the Peace Pledge Union's Non-violence Commission (Hon. Secretary Hilda von Klenze) from 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

For some years now the Commission has, among other things, acted as a clearing house for news of groups and individuals working on non-violent resistance projects. Now they want to collate contributions from as wide a field as possible (British and foreign).

News clippings and reports will be welcomed. It is hoped to issue the Bulletin four times a year and to send copies to all who remit 2s. (US 35 cents) to the address above.

### They top The Mount

**SECRETARIES** of societies and organisers of weekend or holiday conferences who have used The Mount, the Fellowship of Reconciliation's conference centre, at Haverhill, Suffolk, will be interested to know that Mr. G. Noel Hyde and Mrs. Winifred Hyde have been appointed as Warden and Hostess from January 1, 1956.

They succeed Mr. and Mrs. Eric Bourne who have resigned to take another appointment.

The Hydes bring to The Mount a wealth of relevant experience. Many will have known Mr. Hyde during the years 1947 to 1952 at the Woodbrooke Quaker Settlement, at Selly Oak, Birmingham.

Current information about this Conference Centre is obtainable on request to The Warden, The Mount, Haverhill, Suffolk.

# IN PERSPECTIVE . . .

## Jordan Mr. Dulles Cyprus Economic aid Oblivion

**THE** fiasco which occurred in Jordan as a result of the ill-fated attempt to bring her into the Baghdad pact has shown that the Foreign Office still has to learn the lesson of the Maginot line.

The pact was created to carry NATO eastwards from Turkey to Pakistan and it was natural that Britain would be expected her old ally, Jordan (with its legendary Arab Legion), to join.

But the planners had not taken into account the strength of public feeling, particularly the fact that one third of the population of Jordan are refugees intensely suspicious of Western attempts either to treat the Arab-Israeli dispute as subordinate to that between East and West or to bring about a compromise between the Arab states and Israel. If the planners ignored, too, the strong desire for an Arab foreign policy independent of the West, they were misled, perhaps, by its curiously "Through - the - Looking - Glass" quality. There is, after all, a persistence of purpose, if not of logic, in the alliance of feudal Saudi Arabia with republican Egypt to offer to use its wealth (gained from the American oil companies) to replace the British subsidy to Jordan.

### Financial strings

**THE** significance of the move should not be overlooked, for to nothing is a young nationalism so sensitive as the charge of dancing to another man's tune and the Jordan budget leaves no doubt as to who is the piper. Nominally it runs at about thirteen million Jordan pounds. But the British treasury pays 9½ million sterling to the Arab Legion and has just promised a development grant of £3 million sterling—all of which for a country of 1,200,000 inhabitants works out at a subsidy of £10 per head of the population from the British taxpayer.

Realising that, though they hold the financial strings, popular feeling is against them, the Foreign Office has beaten a hasty retreat and the new Jordanian Prime Minister has proclaimed that he will enter into pacts with no one.

May we hope that, at their recent conference, the Middle Eastern ambassadors have taken note of a comment Lawrence made thirty years ago:—

"We will find our best helpers not in our former most obedient subjects, but among those now most active in agitating against us . . ."

Since then, after all, Britain has had sufficient experience of agitators turning into Prime Ministers overnight to be able to read the signs of the times.

## Gambling with death

**DURING** the Indo-China crisis Peace News warned its readers of the danger of world war from the desire of Foster Dulles and Admiral Radford for intervention by Britain and America.

It was probably only the refusal of the British Government to support the American plan to bomb Chinese territory which prevented the major disaster.

The British Government preferred to await the results of the Geneva talks, and the unhelpful attitude which Mr. Dulles took up at Geneva at that time is still remembered.

Peace News was justified in claiming that such results as emerged were due to the fact that the West was

not in the position to negotiate from strength and that there were present delegates who could act as mediators because they were not attached to either power bloc.

### If no need . . .

**WE** will not cavil at the decision of the Government to dispatch Parachute Battalions to Cyprus "for the protection of British subjects in the (Middle East) area, should the need arise."

Unlike our unfortunate brothers in totalitarian countries who are not consulted on major issues, we, enjoying the luxury of democracy are told just what Big Brother considers is good for us. From past experience we know our affairs are in excellent hands, and, should "the need" refuse to "arise" of its own volition, our blundering brass hats will have no difficulty in finding a substitute emergency.

### Economic warfare

**PRESIDENT EISENHOWER** has now asked Congress to endorse a "long-range" economic programme of foreign aid. It is as an avowed "cold war" measure that this aid is requested. It is to help those countries that have become the "special target of international Communism", and the President has issued a statement urging that the United States could lose the economic contest with the Soviet Union in the field of economic development of under-developed countries "unless the country as a whole wakes up to all its implications."

It is very obvious that the President, and Mr. Dulles who has also made his appeal to the people of the United States to wake up to the necessity of waging war on the economic level, are not awake to all the implications of the situation, and particularly to the main psychological implication.

If the way to get help in development is to become a "special target of international Communism" the very obvious moral would appear to be to take the necessary steps to become such a target.

However, it is an improvement if the Powers are to wage war by economic assistance rather than by reliance on H-bombs and the construction of the succession of pacts which weighs so heavily upon the world and gives every reactionary government a chance to dig itself in.

While one can express satisfaction, however, that here is the first sign from the West that something has been changed by the recognition of the stalemate brought about by the H-bomb, we need be under no illusion that this can be a way to genuine peace.

### Basis for peace

**PEACE** can only be built when we act on the recognition of human brotherhood, which is something quite different from the perception that the friendship of peoples may have strategic importance in a cold war.

When we begin to help needy

peoples because of our human kinship, different principles will operate in the giving of aid.

We shall not only have ceased to help with a view to increased "mutual security." But we shall also carefully observe that by such aid we do not destroy more valuable things than we create.

We shall not try to harness different types of economy to our own methods on the arrogant assumption that our ways are always the best. And we shall seek to help in such a way that the peoples may retain their own values and their independence—rather than expecting them to accept our values and become dependent on our economy.

### Greeks and Turks

**IN** Cyprus the recent shooting of a Turkish policeman who had played an active part against EOKA and the subsequent demonstrations by the Turkish community are clear reminders of the danger of open hostility between Greeks and Turks in the island.

It is to be hoped that the leaders of both groups will continue to do all they can to calm their more fanatical followers, and that the British will not see in the increased tension new hope for the policy of "divide and rule."

If the Greeks could no longer feel that the Turkish minority was being used as an obstacle between them and the fulfilment of their aspirations, and if the natural fears of the Turks due to uncertainty could no longer be played upon by interested persons, there is no reason why Greeks and Turks should not live peacefully together in the future as in the past.

The fact that both the British and Greek Governments are in need of a political success in Cyprus should help the talks between Sir John Harding and Archbishop Makarios, but unless Britain is willing to concede a good deal more than she has done up to the present it will be impossible for Archbishop Makarios to reach an agreement without his running the risk of losing the support of the Cypriot people and the leadership of the Enosis movement.

### Worry killers

**A SMALL** item of news last week ought surely to foster feelings of humility in those who have been responsible for the development of Western industrial civilisation when they contemplate the conditions of the simpler societies of Africa and Asia.

The pharmaceutical department of the London Co-operative Society (London Co-operative Chemists, Ltd.) was convicted on summonses for breach of the Pharmacy Act. They had been engaged in the sale of a poison—methylpentynol—in capsules without taking a number of the prescribed precautions.

It is not, however, the conviction that is the striking thing. It is the purpose of the capsules that were on sale. They were intended to allay worry and relieve nervous tension, and they were called Oblivion Capsules.

It surely epitomises what is wrong in much of the Western way of life that our co-operative movement, formed and developed with such idealistic hopes, finds it necessary to offer Oblivion Capsules to its members. This should encourage us to look with humility to see whether the peoples to whom we are to bring help may not have something to teach us.

## REPORT ON THE WELSH NATIONALISTS I

# Welsh Nationalism and Peace

By GENE SHARP

**THE** Welsh Nationalist Party, Plaid Cymru, is the only political party formed in England or Wales in the past 50 years which has both survived and grown in influence and political significance.

The nationalism of Plaid Cymru (pronounced plid kimre) is of a very different type than that so rightly abhorred by peace-minded persons.

The party advocates and uses electoral and non-violent methods.

It advocates a decentralised co-operative economic and political philosophy which stands opposed to capitalism, Communism and State socialism.

During World War II Plaid Cymru declared the neutrality of Wales and many of its members went to prison for resisting conscription. It stands opposed to all military blocs and power states. Gwynfor Evans, 44-year-old party president, is a past member of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union and has been a pacifist for many years.

### A new nationalism

The aim of Plaid Cymru is summed up by party president Gwynfor Evans: "Plaid Cymru's political objective is to secure for Wales that status of freedom, which will enable her people to develop fully all her resources, spiritual, social and econo-

mic, and to take her place as a nation in international life."

The Welsh nationalism is of a very different brand than that common in the West during recent decades. The statement by Mr. Evans, "Our policy is in fact a revolutionary policy," also refers to the kind of nationalism which forms the basis of their party.

Plaid Cymru philosophy maintains that life is an organic whole. Dr. D. J. Davies\* writes: "The fundamental conception of Nationalist philosophy is the dignity of the human being as a moral and spiritual personality, whose enriching, development and expression should be the motive of all political, social and economic action." Such an assumption has important consequences in the party's programme and methods.

A sense of nationality, they believe, gives a person a deeper and wider feeling than class or economic interests. Without such a sense a man becomes individualistic and anti-

social. In order for a person to have a social outlook and consider the welfare of other people, the ideal must be made tangible. And this comes, they reason, through the feeling of unity among the people of his nation.

This sense of identity is built upon a common history, tradition and cultural values and culture. Political economics and culture are all aspects of national life and in order that freedom and solidarity may become an effective reality, the nation must be the unit of them all.

### The nation

"Men are not merely isolated individuals," writes Dr. Davies, "with roots in the past or links with the present or the future; they are also social beings, and it is only in society that they can find their full development . . . And among the natural social groupings which have been evolved in the course of human history, the family and the nation have essential and irreplaceable functions to perform in fostering the development of human personality."

The Welsh Nationalists argue that there is no really effective substitute for nationality to draw men together

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★ ON BACK PAGE



Dutch radio personality makes audience

# LAUGH AT THE MILITARY —and themselves!

By Adriaan Viruly

Dutch author, broadcaster and flyer

PEACE NEWS has asked me for a pen portrait of Wim Kan in view of the fact that he is one of Holland's most outstanding personalities in the world of radio and cabaret. (See photograph on page 1.)

But that's easier said than done. His name is known all over Holland. He is the leader of the ABC cabaret which he started in 1936. In the towns and cities of our country, halls are without exception sold out when it appears with a programme which Wim Kan each year writes and directs himself. On the stage and at the microphone he is an exceptional person in the sense that he has a special flair for telling the truth without making anyone angry.

## Dutch listen spellbound

When he sums up the events of an important day on the wireless and practically the whole of Holland listens spellbound as if the Queen herself were speaking, he can afford to tell more of the truth and tell it more nakedly than any of his colleagues. Now, over a year later, people still talk about his witty performance on New Year's Eve, 1954, which was full of irony and criticised military and political affairs.

These facts are known to the whole of the Netherlands. But who is Wim Kan? Do we get to know him on the rare occasions when he admits a journalist to his garden and house, which he built himself between trees and reeds far from Amsterdam by a quiet lake in the country, and answers some personal questions?

Let me repeat a few of the questions here: "By what kind of act would you most like to become immortal?" "By an act of peace."

"Where do you feel most at ease?" "At a cocktail party where there is dancing and some Englishmen are among the guests."

"To what well-known saying do you attach most significance?" "Churchill's hint at the future after Singapore: 'Blood, sweat and tears'."

"What to you is the most hideous noise?" "The noise of military aeroplanes."

"To what do you attribute your success?" "I don't know, except perhaps to the fact that I always give everything I have got and never strive for success."

## Truths that by-pass VIP's

But does all this show us the whole of Wim Kan? I don't think so by any means. Perhaps his most significant characteristic is that he has discovered some quite simple truths about man and keeps repeating them, though always in a different way, with a humour all his own and as if weighty generals, important ministers and all the VIPs of the day were non-existent.

Wim Kan was born in 1911 as the son of the most popular Minister of Home Affairs Holland has ever had. Very early on he showed an aptitude for the stage. While he was touring Indonesia, the Japanese invaded that country. His wife, Corrie Vonk, was taken to a camp in Java, and Wim to a labour camp in Burma near the infamous Burma railway, but they survived. After the war, the Dutch Government honoured them both for what they had done to keep up the spirit in the camps by their artistic talents and in very difficult circumstances.

Many who were in camp with them are

convinced that they owe to them their sanity, if not their lives.

When the war was over, they came back with a greater freedom of mind gained from their experience of internment. Their gifts and particularly Wim Kan's artistic ingenuity enabled them with very little compromise to witness to that freedom—not as spiritual whips, not as apostles or sentimentalists, nor as out-of-the-world Don Quixotes, but with a humour which always preserves a sense of proportion.

With Wim Kan a hall full of socialists can laugh at the nonsense behind their own party politics, just as heartily as the conservatives. He always knows how to speak to the man in man, and how to make him laugh at his own absurdities.

## Pierces strict censorship

You could not call Holland a particularly free country. We have a Catholic, a Socialist and a Protestant, as well as a so-called general broadcasting system. Every group has its own character which guarantees positive values, but in practice also its own strict censorship. It is easy to tell of any given manuscript, which groups will broadcast it, and which will decide against it.

Besides the homes, there are crowded halls, which Wim Kan's name fills with the listeners of all these broadcasting systems, who have already made up their minds about most things and generally will have nothing to do with differing points of view.

But they all accept Wim Kan. The armour of mass propaganda, which exists in Holland as well as everywhere else, can be pierced by humour and common sense—and he finds the weak spot. He is neither associated with any of the groupings, nor, when it comes to the point, is he prepared to compromise with them.

His integrity is well known. Tell him that a highly paid and most important transmission will only be put on the air if he agrees to cut from a sixty-minute programme one short passage which makes fun of the Minister of War or German rearmament, and there is not the slightest chance that he will be ready to make any such alteration.

"You just go and put some records on instead. As far as I am concerned this is not going to be sent out."

Ten personalities like him in ten European countries—and free speech, even against militarism, with the laughter that makes free, will be a certainty. Where are they?

Translated from the Dutch by  
Hilda von Klenze.

## On the American scene

From a Correspondent

**EVANGELIST** Billy Graham's pronouncements on peace and war continue. "Pray for peace but be prepared for attack," he told the Veterans of Foreign Wars in the USA.

"We must never strike the first blow, but we must be able to strike the last one."

The last one it might well be!

Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, has been re-elected to his position for another year by the fund's board of governors. His re-election amounts to a vote of confidence in the face of criticism of him and the Fund from certain circles in the US.

The Fund for the Republic, with resources of \$15,000,000, was set up several years ago as an independent agency. Its purpose is to assist in the preservation and extension of civil liberties in the US.

Dr. Hutchins was formerly Chancellor of the University of Chicago.

At the end of the year the USA had as much "conventional" ammunition stockpiled underground as the World War II armies fired in Europe, reports Time magazine.

There was a comment that it was pleasant to read in an interview given by Mr. Darryl F. Zanuck, of the Twentieth Century Fox Film Co., to Mr. Art Buchwald of the New York Herald Tribune. (It should be noted that the word "morals" is used in the curiously limited sense that the American film industry gives it):

"Strangely enough, the British censorship is just the opposite of ours," said Mr. Zanuck. "They're concerned with brutality, while our censorship is concerned with morals."

"Is there any effort to cut down on brutality in American pictures?"

"Yes, we're getting away from it now."

"Why?"

"Because," said Mr. Zanuck, "if you want me to be frank, the British are cutting the hell out of our films."

"Amerika," a Russian-language, illustrated US Government magazine, will resume publication in Moscow.

Publication ceased in 1952 when the US Embassy complained that public distribution of the magazine was being interfered with. The Soviet Government has approved resumption of the magazine.

The Colour problem and questions of current interest and importance will be discussed in the new television programme, "About Religion" (Sundays, 7 p.m. Channel 9).



The sufferings of more than a million Arab refugees, many living in camps like this, poison relations with Israel.

# Jewish-Arab peace urged by Israeli Third Way group

From a Third Way Correspondent

The following report of the maltreatment of Arabs in Israel, the desire of the Arab masses for peace despite the policies of their Arab rulers and a plea for peace comes from Central Committee of the Third Force Movement, with headquarters in Tel Aviv, Israel. This movement's general position is compatible with the policies of the International Third Way Movement. This Israeli group, predominately or entirely Jewish, reports information not widely known in this country and expresses an attitude among some Israeli Jews which is little publicised. Therefore the following extracts have been prepared for Peace News from statements by the Third Force Committee:

**THE** Palestine Arabs did not leave their country willingly or because of incitement. Hundreds of thousands of men, especially peasants, do not abandon their homes and lands by their own will or thanks to propaganda. They fled from here out of fear for their lives and because of apprehensions of Zionist domination.

The terrible slaughter in the Arab village "Dir-Yassin" in 1948 and other similar actions which preceded and followed it prove that the above fear was not baseless. And, as it is now clear, the above apprehensions were not unreasonable either.

Arab villages and towns in Israel are under military rule, and the Arab inhabitants are not allowed to leave their settlements without a permit from the Military Governor, even in order to go and look for work or medical help, and a permit as above is difficult to obtain, and is often refused. The greater part of Arab lands in Israel has been confiscated by the Government, and given away to the "Kibitzim," who built on the "socialist" settlements, and to other Jewish settlers.

## Discrimination and army rule

The Histadrut, the great Jewish labour organisation in Israel, does not accept Arab workers as members, and if an Arab worker finds work without the assistance of the Histadrut, he is taken off from his place of work by Histadrut officials and with the help of the police under the pretext that he is an "unorganised" worker.

Even in the matter of citizenship the Arabs in Israel are discriminated against. Whereas every Jew is automatically a citizen of Israel, and a Jewish immigrant becomes a citizen of Israel as soon as he descends from the ship or aeroplane, an Arab has to apply for citizenship, and his application will be considered only if he produces certain documents which he is mostly unable to produce.

The Israeli Government motivates the Military Rule by security reasons, because Arab settlements are near the borders of Israel. But this motivation is untrue. Arabs are not allowed to leave their village even in order to go further from the border, and even in order to go to a Jewish settlement. The

real purpose of the military oppression of, and the legal discrimination against, the Arabs in Israel is to make life in Israel hard and painful for them, so that they prefer to emigrate and make Israel "Araber-Rein."

In a subsequent statement setting forth reasons why Jews and Arabs should come together outside the power struggle of the two great blocs, the Third Force Committee says:

## Arab masses want peace

The Arab masses do not want any "second round." They have grown tired of the will-of-the-wisps and false promises of their leaders, and desire peace with the State of Israel.

A clear sign of this can be found in the fact that the Arab rulers have waived their numerous demands and now make only one demand for peace with Israel: the return of the Arab refugees. They demand this without having any sincere concern for them.

Throughout all this time, Arab rulers have done nothing to alleviate the terrible suffering of the latter. Indeed the distress of the refugees has served them as a source of income. Precisely as a large part of the old-established Jewish population in Israel now lives easily on account of the sufferings of the new immigrants, so the Arab rulers fill their pockets with dollars from the funds raised in aid of the Arab refugees. And if the only condition of peace they make is the demand for the return of the refugees, then the reason for this can be found solely in pressure by the refugees and the Arab masses as a whole.

Yet can the State of Israel agree to this condition? Can the State of Israel admit hundreds of thousands of "fifth columnists"? Can it eject the new immigrants from the homes and places of business which they occupy, in order to return this property to the former owners? And is the State of Israel in a position to take steps for the settlement of hundreds of thousands of Arabs when all its vastly strained resources do not suffice for settling the masses of Jewish immigrants? Many will ask this, and the questions seem logical. Yet the logical is only apparent.

Real peace established now between the State of Israel and the neighbouring countries would bring about such prosperity over the area as it has never known before.

The Arab countries need the industrial products and technical skill of Israel, while the consumers and producers of Israel need the Arab markets. Once the State of Israel is at peace with its neighbours and has a sound economic basis, then investment, capital, loans and donations will flow into it on such a scale as to make all present sums collected for Israel appear insignificant. Then and only then, will a real settlement of the immigrants be possible.

## Homes for refugees

Furthermore, the return of the Arab refugees to their homes and their lands, the greater part of which have not been cultivated since they left, will not hinder their rehabilitation, but on the contrary will facilitate it. The new immigrants need not only dwelling houses, but also the possibility of earning their livelihood; and then they will have this possibility. They will also have dwellings. Not the wrecked and ruined houses of the Arabs, nor tents or huts, but proper houses to live in. For then the materials to build these will be available, and the new immigrants will have the means with which to buy them.

## Danish CO's: 'Thanks'

The following letter was received at the Headquarters of the War Resisters' International at Enfield, Middx.

Dear Friends,

The 160 conscientious objectors in Oksbøl, Denmark want to thank you very much for your greetings for Christmas. We have received more than 150 greetings from England, East-West Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Italy, Poland, Sweden, Norway, Canada, U.S.A., Israel, France and Denmark. If possible we would be very glad if you would bring our best thanks to all friends all over the world who sent us Christmas greetings.

We send you all the best wishes for the new year.

ERIK MATHIASSEN.

## UP AND UP

Yes, the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund broke all records, and when we closed our books for 1955 had reached the grand total of £1,125.

We are most grateful to every reader who helped towards this grand result, and we appreciate their help all the more because the additional amount over our aim has made it possible for the PPU to balance its accounts for the first time in some years. But it is not only the HQ Fund that goes up and up.

When we at the PPU HQ came to work out our estimates for 1956 we had to reckon on increases in rates, telephone, postages, cost of printing, and other items, and the Executive decided that as the PPU staff had not had any rise in salary since January, 1954, it could only be right to recommend a small increase to help to cover the rise in the cost of living and travelling since then.

If we anticipate increased expenditure, we must also anticipate increased income. We expect more from our voluntary subscribers this year and the PPU Headquarters Fund has been asked to raise its aim to £1,150. I hope you will regard this as a compliment and an expression of confidence in your readiness to give as generously this year as last.

I realise that it is not going to be easy, but you will agree that it can be done if every reader will do his or her best to help. We have made a good start and must try to keep up a steady average week by week. So let us all be up and doing and top the first £100 by the end of the month.

STUART MORRIS,

General Secretary.

Our aim for 1956: £1,150.

Amount received to date: £34.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.





## Must More Children Starve?

By FRED S. MOORHOUSE

Assistant Secretary, British Fellowship of Reconciliation

ON January 9 President Eisenhower celebrated his return to work by announcing his proposal for a "soil bank." This latter is a nice name for a nasty policy: a policy which allows hungry people to starve to death.

The "need" for such a policy, and the American government's determination to pursue it rises from the growing problem of wheat and other surpluses in the United States.

The Food and Agricultural Organisation wheat stocks rose between 1951 and 1955 from 10.8 million metric tons to 27.0, coarse grains from 25.1 to 33.5, and cotton from 0.49 to 2.4. The average gross exports per year from 1951-54 expressed as a percentage of 1954 stocks were: for wheat 86 per cent, coarse grains 13 per cent, cheese 10 per cent, dried skim milk 25 per cent and linseed oil 25 per cent.

In other words it will take, at present export rates, four years to dispose of dried skim milk and linseed oil stock, eight years to dispose of coarse grain stocks and ten years to dispose of cheese stocks.

Added to, or consequent upon, this piling of food surpluses has been a decline in real farm incomes in the States. Farm production expenses in 1953 were the same as in 1952 and are probably no lower now, but farm incomes have declined steadily since 1951. In 1954 the latter were only 88 per cent of incomes in 1952.

THE world scene is vastly different. Whilst the USA, Canada, Australia and Argentina have been cramming their granaries to capacity, there has been increasing starvation and suffering in other lands.

Compared with pre-war, Indian per capita consumption of cereals, pulses and nuts, starchy roots, sugar, meat, milk and oils and fats has either declined considerably or is roughly the same. Total calory consumption is 1,640 compared with 1,970 pre-war; protein consumption 45 grams per day instead of 56. Japan's consumption is lower in every commodity mentioned above except milk.

On this background of general misery and malnutrition must be painted two years of devastating drought and flood. Floods

in the Yangtze Basin in 1954 affected millions, and the 1955 catastrophes in India and Pakistan have been the worst recorded. The retreating monsoon devastated areas around Madras in the autumn as terribly as the summer rains laid waste North India and the Punjab.

In the face of such appalling and increasing distress the new American policy can only be described as immoral. President Eisenhower is reported to have said that it is "unthinkable to destroy food." But it is difficult to see any subtle distinction between destroying food and allowing men to die of hunger, and refusing to grow food while men starve to death.

THE men still die. Women still give birth to babies doomed to die before a year is out.

Little children still grow with soft and twisted bodies.

Yet the "soil bank" answer to America's surplus is a policy of discouraging food production. US Agricultural Department officials are reported as estimating that some \$1,000,000,000 will be needed to carry the plan through and twelve million acres of wheat will disappear along with three million acres of cotton.

All this at a time when humane reasoning would urge that we produce as much food as possible everywhere! All this in a world which rejected Boyd Orr's World Food Board as being impracticable!

An economic policy which deliberately reduces food production in a world where men, women and children are starving is an immoral policy. Are we prisoners of the structure we have created? If so the condemned cell is uncomfortably crowded—with innocent men, nay children!

There is, of course, a solution to this problem of the surpluses which is a moral one. It is the idea of the World Food Board. But the will to create such a board can only emerge from economic and political policies based on new values. The solution lies in a renunciation of greed and economic conflict, of war preparations and wasteful expenditure, and in an embracing of love and co-operation among men, of peace preparations and constructive effort.

How long must the hungry wait?

## U.S. PACIFISTS URGE NEHRU, U NU:

### 'Strengthen Camp of Peace'

The National Council of the US Fellowship of Reconciliation sent the following statement to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Premier U Nu on January 2. The letters were signed by A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus of the AFOR, for the National Council.

BOTH as pacifists and as citizens of the US active in efforts for world peace, we are perplexed and concerned over some of the developments that have been extensively reported in connection with the visit of the Soviet leaders, Khrushchov and Bulganin, to India and Burma.

India is associated in our minds with Gandhi and his teaching of non-violence of which India's President, Rajendra Prasad, has long been a devotee.

Burma reminds us of Buddhism with its strong emphasis on the non-violent attitude toward all creatures, a faith of which Premier U Nu is a disciple and frequent exponent. We think of both Nehru and U Nu as statesmen who advocate that their countries should remain independent of both the dominant power-blocs—the Communist and American—and free also of other military alliances or blocs. This is a stand of which we approve. We are not speaking as supporters of current American foreign policy...

#### Visitors' political attacks

Visits of the heads of one state to another are ostensibly of a ceremonial character but they almost invariably have a bearing on crucial policy matters...

...This visit to India virtually coincided with the test explosion of a hydrogen bomb by Russia and the justification of this act in the addresses of the Soviet leaders in India as a necessary defensive measure...

In such a context and while ostensibly carrying out a mission of "peace and goodwill" the Soviet leaders... have engaged in frequent attacks upon the West.

It is most unusual, and ordinarily regarded as inadmissible for official foreign visitors to a country to engage in direct political attacks upon the governments of other countries which are supposedly friendly to the government of the host country... These attacks are in flagrant contradiction to the approach laid down by Pandit Nehru himself as conducive to world peace...

#### Churchill's speech recalled

As Americans and pacifists we are disturbed by the memory that early in 1946, Sir Winston Churchill... made a public address at Fulton, Missouri, in which he expressed fear, suspicion and hatred of the Russian regime and its policy and vigorously urged a military build-up with which to confront the "menace," and then from "positions of strength" to "negotiate" and achieve "peace." President Truman sat on the platform with Sir Winston and joined in a welcome accorded him and his address. From this it was inferred—and on the whole correctly... that the American government itself supported the... policy...

The effect of the Churchill speech was to stimulate the uncritical and exaggerated fear, suspicion and hostility towards Russia and Communism which prevailed in this country for several years, to cultivate a distorted view of the nature of the problem presented by totalitarianism and to develop support or at

least passive tolerance throughout the country for the so-called "cold war" policies... and... emotionalism and repression at home...

We speak from incomplete, and possibly in some measure inaccurate, reports... But you will understand how earnestly we hope, in view of our own experiences, that the governments of India and Burma may prevent the growth among their peoples of a spirit of uncritical anger, fear and hostility towards Americans and the American government.

We hope that false and dangerous conceptions of how to deal with the mistaken, and in some cases, evil power policies of the US government... may be prevented from growing in India and Burma.

#### Overcoming dangers to peace

We were accordingly deeply impressed and encouraged by the statement made by Pandit Nehru... on November 20, 1955...

We are convinced that it is not by military pacts and alliances and by piling up armaments that world peace and security can be attained... There is talk of a cold war and rival camps and groupings and military blocs and alliances—all in the name of peace.

We are in no camp and no military alliance. The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace and good will, which should include as many countries as possible and be opposed to none. The only alliance we seek is an alliance based on good will and co-operation.

It is clearly not a simple matter to form such a "camp of peace and good will"... The danger exists that governments and their leaders may in fact be drawn into one "side" as against the other, in spite of the announced policy of not "taking sides" in the power conflict.

#### Ask independent peace policy

We trust, nevertheless, that the developments to which we... call attention may not... lessen appreciably the hope that such nations as India and Burma, such leaders as Nehru and U Nu, may work out a basically Gandhian course and achieve and maintain genuine independence of the present power blocs and their social regimes.

By introducing a new factor into international relations they would be able to serve as mediators and reconcilers and as pioneers leading mankind to a more sane and fraternal society. Such a truly independent and reconciling position could only be based upon the rejection of militarism and violence in all forms and the recognition that neither Russian nor American H-bombs, neither present American nor Russian foreign policy, is a genuine instrument of peace.



The eternal regimentation of prisons is illustrated by this scene in Strangeways Prison. Officers search for weapons and forbidden articles every time a working party comes into the prison centre. Picture Post photo by Bert Hardy

## THE HUMAN CORROSION OF PRISON

By ETHEL MANNIN

TOWARDS the end of his altogether admirable book, AGAINST THE LAW,\* Peter Wildeblood quotes those words of John Donne which can never be quoted too often:

"No man is an island, entire of himself... therefore send not to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee."

He says that in prison he learned for the first time the real meaning of "those great, ringing words" which he had known from childhood. "I am a part of all humanity," Donne declared in the same context, "and every man's death diminishes me."

It is because we are none of us isolated islands in the cosmic scheme, but all of us involved in humanity, that the present writer is moved to write about this book which has already been extensively and favourably reviewed and which went immediately into a second printing.

#### Deserves wide attention

It is a book to which the widest possible attention should be drawn on two accounts: that it states the case, directly and implicitly, for the rational attitude, social and legal, towards homosexuality which obtains in other countries, and that it directs a powerful light upon the equally urgent need for prison reform, and incidentally upon high-handed police methods of securing evidence.

The book adds nothing new to the picture of prison-life presented to us in recent years by Wilfred Macartney, Rupert Croft-Cooke, Jim Phelan, and others; it doesn't pretend to. The book is completely free of that self-dramatising and self-pity which make Oscar Wilde's DE PROFUNDIS such a deplorable piece of work. Its value—and it is an immense value—lies in the plea it makes for the great mass of prisoners less intelligent than the author, and the quite inarticulate, who make up the bulk of our prison population.

#### The Wormwood treatment

"At Wormwood Scrubs," Mr. Wildeblood writes, "which is so often pointed out as a centre for the psychological treatment of offenders, the facilities for such treatment were not so much inadequate, as virtually absent. I met many men who had been told by judges that they were being sent for three, or five, or seven years to a place where they would be properly looked after and encouraged to mend their ways; but nothing whatever was being done for them."

"Out of 1,000 prisoners at the Scrubs, only 11 were receiving psychiatric treatment at the time I was there, and only a small proportion of these were homosexuals."

There is nothing new in the contention that prison does not cure anti-social tendencies or help the maladjusted to adjust. But because that contention is the very basis of the need for a more humane and therefore more constructive system it cannot be said too often. "Whether they intend to 'go straight' or not," the author says, writing of men serving prison sentences, "none of them believed that they would be better men for their stay in prison."

#### The erosion of men

He underlines this again later in the book when he says, "Men in prison, whatever their crime may have been, do not merely remain as bad as they were when they came in; by a visible process of moral erosion which goes on week after week and year after year, they become worse." (An aspect of this, it may be remembered, was brought out by Douglas Home in his fine play "And Now Barrabas...")

No attempt is made to fit men for life when they are released, the work which they do in the prison workshops being "monotonous and

almost useless from the point of view of a future career," and the evening classes being "perfunctory and uninspired," whilst the unpaid labour of mail-bag sewing as the evening cell task makes it impossible for the prisoner to use what is officially his leisure time usefully. Indeed with only a 40-watt bulb high up in the ceiling he can barely read anyhow.

Mr. Wildeblood heard, he says, more sensible suggestions from his fellow-prisoners on the subject of punishment and reform than he ever heard from any penologist or politician since his release.

#### Prisoners and Lords

When he attended a debate in the House of Lords—seated, ironically enough, in the Distinguished Strangers Gallery—Lord Pakenham, speaking of his inquiry into the causes of crime, reminded the House that the Chairman of the Prison Commissioners, Sir Lionel Fox, had said that "the purposes of training and treatment of convicted prisoners shall be to establish in them the will to lead a good and useful life on discharge, and to fit them to do so."

But the figures showed, Lord Pakenham said, that only about one prisoner in six was receiving any training at all. Peer after peer Wildeblood reports, rose to support him. It is significant that, as Lord Moynihan pointed out, although this was a matter in which the Church might have interested itself, not a single Bishop had stayed to listen to the debate.

(In fairness it has to be said, however, that the Church of England, in its recent Moral Welfare Council Report on homosexuality and the law has shown, as Wildeblood tried to tell the Governor of Winchester Prison, "a great deal more tolerance and understanding" than any other denomination.)

The author's detestation of hypocrisy, and his own complete honesty, emerge very strongly in the book. In reply to the Governor of Winchester's inquiry he replied that "yes," he believed in God, "But not the God of any of the organised religions. I believe," he added, "there is something good in each of us, and I suppose you could call that God"... which, of course, is another way of expressing the Quaker that-of-God-in-every-man belief.

#### Forgotten men and women

Shortly before his release one of the prisoners said to Peter Wildeblood, "Try to do something for us when you get out, Pete; we can't do nothing for ourselves."

This book makes its contribution to the cause of all those forgotten men—and women—who lie in jail. Peter Wildeblood has tried to "do something," and he may have succeeded better than can yet be apparent; certainly the book succeeds as a moving and valuable narrative and plea, and as to its aim, everything which makes people think and become more aware of their involvement in humanity in general is of a value which, though it cannot be measured or calculated, or in any way immediately assessed, has the reality of truth itself.

**I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER**  
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.  
Send YOUR pledge to  
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## Scand News

INFORMATION... dependent daily... New Year by asking... they would do if... of some public per...

The chairman of the War Resisters' International, Rasmus of Defence. He is better to be a N... a suspicion that... much of a say in... all would be to b... ganin—preferabl... peace would ensue...

Under the title "The of Peace," the Danish Resisters' International exhibition, etc., will illustrate its foundation this...

There is to be closer Danish and Norwegian Resisters' International monthly "Pacifist" published without a b... is to serve as the...

"Peace and Freedom" the title of a 564... lished in Denmark... Jensen.

When the 1956 Annual of the Danish section of the International is published on April 14 and 15 the visits to social in The Norwegian Committee Objectors have COs who have is Defence. At a do... for COs, 63 vote... and none for, with...

WE DID... "Greeks are using methods taught by t... to Cyprus terrorists."

MICHAEL SHE... of 7 Museum... are now accep... A GUIDE... by Father... A "must"... PUBLISH... Price...

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## Scandinavian News Flashes

**"INFORMATION"**, Denmark's largest independent daily paper, celebrated the New Year by asking various people what they would do if they were given the job of some public personage.

The chairman of the Danish section of the War Resisters' International was offered the role of Rasmus Hansen, Danish Minister of Defence. He suggested that it would be better to be a NATO general; "we have a suspicion that our Rasmus doesn't have much of a say in that company. Best of all would be to become Eisenhower or Bulganin—preferably both—what a wonderful peace would ensue!"

Under the title "Thirty Years in the Service of Peace," the Danish section of the War Resisters' International is arranging a portable exhibition. Pictures, texts, placards, etc., will illustrate the section's work since its foundation thirty years ago.

There is to be closer co-operation between the Danish and Norwegian sections of the War Resisters' International. The Danish monthly "Pacifisten," which has been published without a break for the past 22 years, is to serve as the organ of both sections.

"Peace and Freedom without Weapons" is the title of a 564 page book recently published in Denmark by a pacifist, Henrik S. Jensen.

When the 1956 Annual General Meeting of the Danish section of the War Resisters' International is held in Copenhagen on April 14 and 15 the programme will include visits to social institutions in the capital. The Norwegian Central Bureau for Conscientious Objectors is receiving many names of COs who have been called up for Civil Defence. At a debate in the Høstad Camp for COs, 63 voted against serving in CD and none for, with 2 abstainers.

### WE DIDN'T SAY IT!

"Greeks are using wartime 'resistance' methods taught by the British to supply arms to Cyprus terrorists."

—Daily Express, January 14.

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**Friday, January 20**  
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. (refreshments from 7 p.m.) Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square. Reginald Reynolds, "The Liquidation of Imperialism." Chair: J. Allen Skinner. Peace News Lecture series.

**Saturday, January 21**  
LONDON, W.C.1: 4 p.m.; 32 Tavistock Sq. Exhibition. PPU.

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## Letters to the Editor

### Pacifists and politics

**A** GAIN we have the old, old controversy in Peace News, should a pacifist be political or shouldn't he? Well, isn't there room in a movement such as ours for people who want to work in politics and people who don't? Of course there is.

However, if like the Fellowship Party we want to operate in politics, then for goodness sake let us be serious in our politics. The world is in a beastly mess, complexity, entanglement problems and counter problems abound; people are confused and bewildered, and it is not all going to come right by someone producing a programme of desired ends; it is the means—the interim programme—that is really the problem. And beyond that there is the still greater problem of persuading people that your programme is really the best for them. Explaining to the average Papuan that streptomycin will cure his TB is a different thing from getting him to accept an injection.

It has been obvious for some time that an incursion of the pacifist ethic into politics has been urgently necessary. But does this mean that the best way to do it is to form a pacifist party? I don't think so.

Any new party that wants to catch the elector's eye in 1960 will have to put at least 30 candidates in the field. It is a foregone conclusion that the Fellowship Party will not be able to do that—it couldn't if it had the support of every pacifist in the country—and it is not likely to get that.

No, quite obviously, what has to happen is the formation of some kind of radical front between all those groups and persons seriously interested in non-Communist-type peace and freedom and welfare.

Such a grouping would have to aim at siphoning off 60 per cent of the Labour Party and all the disillusioned non-voters. It would have to budget on a shoe-string for it will never command large finances (no new party will again). It would have consequently to develop new techniques of propaganda and operation.

To get such a radical front under way a start could be made by convening a conference of the following organisations: The Co-operative Party, the Independent Labour Party, the Welsh Party, the Fellowship Party, The Common Wealth Party, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Peace Pledge Union and the Third Way. There may be others.

The aim of such a conference would be to draw up the terms of an electoral alliance under which these organisations could fight the next election. In this way it should not be impossible for 30 brand-new prospects to be put before the public next election time.

**TOM WARDLE.**

Underbank Parsonage,  
Stannington, Sheffield, 6.

### Fellowship Party

**I** AM puzzled by the contents of Ivan Geffen's open letter to the Fellowship Party. He writes: "... the Labour Party can no longer claim (my italics) the allegiance of democratic socialists and pacifists." Does not Ivan Geffen know that the pacifist and anti-militarist tradition in the Labour Party is just as strong, if not stronger, than ever it was.

And again to quote his letter: "Pacifist Labour MPs are wrong in imagining that there is the slightest chance of the Labour Party allowing (my italics) their protest to be effective. I submit that the Labour Party is still the only political instrument where the pacifist and peace-lover has any hope of seeing his views effectively bear fruit."

In concluding Ivan Geffen states "to say that I advocate little that is not Labour Party

policy would be to miss the point." Well, well.

The Labour Peace Fellowship (formerly the Labour Pacifist Fellowship) has advocated within the democratic Labour movement a policy of Peace and International Socialism, and has restated the need for waging war on world poverty and the diverting of arms expenditure to economic assistance, without ties, to underdeveloped countries.

We of the Labour Peace Fellowship say to the Fellowship Party "Your policy has a distinctly socialist slant, why split our efforts (surely the fault of peace forces?) Come into the Labour Party and the LPF. Join us in a constructive effort to influence Labour Party policy, and at the same time work to replace capitalism with socialism, thereby attaining a society of world peace and human brotherhood."

**TERENCE COMERFORD,**

General Secretary,

Labour Peace Fellowship.

46 Robin Hood Way,  
Greenford, Middlesex.

### Those H-tests

**B**Y removing some words from their context Patricia Payne bases her whole argument upon a false premise. I did not say that "to ask the British Government to forego its own test is tantamount to asking the British Government to engage in a fight with one hand tied"; what I said was that "it would seem to the majority to be tantamount," etc.

I maintain that this statement is true; that is how it would seem to the majority; and that is why her further statement that the British electorate, if questioned, would say an "overwhelming NO" to the tests, seems to me to be an extremely doubtful deduction.

Whatever Dr. Garbett may have said in objection to tests, he made it perfectly clear that the bomb must be retained as a deterrent and unfortunately the majority agree with him; quite logically, they believe that the bomb, if it is to be effective and thereby a real deterrent, must be tested.

Carefully rereading my article I cannot see any reason for Patricia Payne's implication that I advocated pacifists standing aside. On the contrary, I thought I made it quite clear that I believed it to be up to pacifists to show by every means in their power that if the tests are to stop there is only one way in which that can be achieved. It is our business to face the public with the real issues, not join with them in "wishful thinking."

**SYBIL MORRISON.**

London, W.C.1.

### The balanced picture

**I**N your current issue I am interested to see the photograph of a section of the Glasgow "War on Want" Exhibition. Some goods are displayed with the notice "This is produce from what was barren soil in Israel."

It would be difficult to tell the whole story in one picture, but to obtain a more balanced view there was, I hope, another stand to remind visitors of the million Arab refugees whose eviction was not unconnected with this glorious achievement.

**REGINALD REYNOLDS.**

20 Jubilee Place, S.W.3.

### Israel and the refugees

**Y**OUR article "Israel and the Refugee Tragedy" (PN, December 9, 1955) seems Israel received hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees from Arab countries and resettled them. There will be more of them to come. If you add to the expenses the losses caused through the war of 1948, the boycott and the guerilla warfare since 1948, the total may amount to the sum needed to resettle the Arab refugees. Nevertheless the Israel Gov-

January 20, 1956—PEACE NEWS—5

ernment expressed again and again its readiness to contribute for this purpose.

The Israel Government besides remitted to the refugees some £2,000,000 from their formerly frozen accounts with banks here. On the other side the Arab Governments declined to accept any suggestions for a resettlement. The vast sums granted by UNO for the refugees were spent for doles and not for any constructive work. As long as the Arab rulers prefer hate to common sense there seems to be a small chance for understanding and peace.

**M. SEIDMAN.**

Tel Aviv, Israel.

### Points from other letters

● Alan Litherland (PN, January 6) does not explain how we make our government "renounce military power and replace it by constructive peace making," when it believes in military power. The only positive realistic alternative to anarchism is direct political action. There are thousands of COs and professing pacifists in Britain who belong neither to the Peace Pledge Union nor the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and can't bother to buy Peace News. The Christian Party believes that this apathy is due to lack of any realistic work by pacifists. It is useless for pacifists to tell politicians what to do if they are not prepared to become politicians themselves.—J. A. Ellis.

● Any progressive party must recognise that world government is the next step in human progress and the first essential for any world reforms. None of the proposals in the Fellowship Party's policy statement on world affairs could be made effective without world government.—Douglas Glassford.

● The Fellowship Party's interim policy statement (PN, January 6, 1956) is the clearest and most comprehensive outline of a totalitarian State that I have ever read. Under a cloak of benignity the Special Policy Committee have thought up a policy of unlimited Communism that would do justice to George Orwell's 1984. This sort of programme can only be carried out under a slave State.—Betty Walden.

● Ivan Geffen (PN, December 30) talks about the abolition of conscription "with improved pay and conditions for those volunteer forces that would initially be retained."

This seems to sum up Mr. Victor Yates' attitude, when on November 2, 1955, he said in the House of Commons: "I am pleased, of course, to have noted many improvements in the army, but I know that the men just cannot afford to drink any more than they do at present."

How much longer are pacifists going to tolerate this sort of stuff?—George Gregory.

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## DIARY

**TUNBRIDGE WELLS:** 12 am. Five Ways Cafe. Election of Officers and Area representatives. PPU.

### Thursday, February 2

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. "Exchange of English and German Housewives," Mrs. Ewell. PPU.

### Friday, February 3

**BELLINGHAM:** 7.45 p.m.; 97 King Alfred Ave. "Why I shall contest South Lewisham again," John Leverseed, AFC (prospective Fellowship Party candidate). FP.

**OLDHAM:** 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 1 St. Peter St. "The International For," Harold Guite, MA. For.

### Sunday, February 5

**BURNT ASH:** 6.30 p.m.; Burnt Ash Methodist Church. "Jesus the realist," Ronald Malbone. BA.

**LONDON, W.1:** 3.30 p.m.; Kings Weigh Ho. Church, Binney St. (Nr. Bond St. Stn.). "Darkness and light," Edith Adlam. PPU Religion Commission.

### Tuesday, February 7

**MANSFIELD:** 7.15 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Quaker Lane. "Is World Government really necessary?" Frederick Forder. Mansfield Peace Gp.

### Thursday, February 16

**LEEDS:** 7.30 p.m.; Carlton Hill Mtg. Ho., Woodhouse Lane. "Europe, Bridge or Battlefield," Mr. H. Mobun. Leeds Joint Action for Peace.

### Every week!

#### SUNDAYS

**HYDE PARK:** 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

#### TUESDAYS

**MANCHESTER:** 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

#### THURSDAYS

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

### Sunday, January 22

**BRADFORD:** 6.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Melbourne Place, Little Horton Lane. "Open gates in Africa," Helen Neatby (home from Nigeria where she has been teaching). SoF.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 2.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Conference for young men of 16 and over who are considering standing as Conscientious Objectors. SoF.

### Tuesday, January 24

**WALSALL:** 7.30 p.m.; Central Hall, Ablewell St. "Christianity and Racial Barriers," Public Mtg. Revs. John Banks and Donald Horder. For.

### Thursday, January 26

**HAMPSTEAD:** 8 p.m.; Friends Ho., 120 Heath St. Chris Farley. "Prison and the future of Conscience," PPU.

**LEYTONSTONE:** 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

### Friday, January 27

**STRATFORD-ON-AVON:** 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, Sheep St. "Children of Hiroshima," Cert. "X" film. Admission free. Collection. For.

### Saturday, January 28

**BIRMINGHAM:** 6 p.m.; Burlington Hall, 100 High St. Aston. Esma Burroughs. "Recent Developments in the Work Camp Movement." Films. IVSP.

### Monday, January 30

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 7.45 p.m. Caxton Hall, Westminster. Dominican discussion on "The Morality of Nuclear War." Fr. Ian Hislop, O.P. Fr. Lawrence Bright, O.P. Tickets 2s. from National Peace Council, NPC.

### Tuesday, January 31

**BIRMINGHAM:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 36 Holloway Head. "The Third Way," J. Allen Skinner.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho. London Area Mtg. All welcome. PPU.

### Wednesday, February 1

**CAMBRIDGE:** University Union Chamber. Mtg. National Campaign for Abolition of Capital Punishment. Details of this and mtgs. in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, Swansea, Cardiff, Oxford, Leeds, Sheffield, and London, from 14 Henrietta St., London, W.C.2.

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### MEETINGS

**DOMINICAN DISPUTATION** on "The Morality of Nuclear War" between Fr. Ian Hislop, O.P. and Fr. Laurence Bright, O.P. Caxton Hall, Westminster, Monday, January 30, 7.45 p.m. Tickets (2s.) from the National Peace Council, 29 Gt. James Street, London, W.C.1.

**INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY** Public Meeting. "Is Marxism true today?" Speaker: Jim Graham. Chairman: F. A. Ridley. Sat., Jan. 21, Alliance Hall, Caxton St., S.W.1, at 2.45 p.m. Adm. 1s.

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### PERSONAL

**CONFERENCE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.** A Conference for young men of 16 and over who are considering standing as Conscientious Objectors, at Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., London, W.C.1., on Sunday, January 22, at 2.30 p.m. Young women also welcome. Tea provided.

**"ELIJAH COMING Before Christ,"** wonderful book free. Mesquido Mission, Dept. 13, Rochester 19, N.Y.

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### SITUATIONS VACANT

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## More young soldiers for Cyprus

The Daily Herald did a public service in publishing this story and telling us the human facts about the soldiers who have been ordered to go to Cyprus.

On TV and on the news reels we see the soldiers marching to the aircraft to be flown out to Cyprus as if they were eager to go! It was interesting to note the protest made by the Lord Provost of Glasgow and Glasgow MPs. There is little doubt that they exposed the feeling of the people of Glasgow—and the people of this country too.

For I believe the people of Britain, if given the opportunity to express themselves, would be overwhelmingly against sending any more soldiers to Cyprus and of bringing those who are there home.

Certainly trouble in Cyprus and the sending of young conscripts to the Middle East were not among the things that the British electors voted for last May.

Cyprus hadn't then become another centre of disturbance but all the elements of trouble were there and the British Government has been responsible for one blunder after another in that part of the world until this little island has become an armed camp.

### JOSS ON AFRICA

"If you seek a fair, balanced, true, typical, significant reflection of what Africa is like, you will not find it in my sketches."

This is the frank statement which Peace News cartoonist Joss makes in the catalogue notes of his forthcoming Exhibition of sketches.

The Exhibition, entitled "African Sketchbook," is to be opened by Hanne Swaffer at the Imperial Institute Art Gallery, South Kensington, on Jan. 23, at 6 p.m. It will remain open until February 5. Times are Mon.-Fri., 10 a.m. to 4.30 p.m., Saturdays until 5 p.m., and Sunday 2.30-6 p.m.

Joss goes on to explain to the viewer: "I looked on Africa as a foreign artist might pounce on Tudor England when coming to this island on a sketching trip."

Just as Tudor England is still to be found, so is my Africa.

"Travelling in Nigeria and the Gold Coast and Kenya in 1954 and 1955, I sought neither the breathtaking and almost unbelievable technical and political progress that marks the first two, nor aspects of the Emergency that marked the third."

### Nomination dates for PPU officers

ANY Peace Pledge Union Group or two individual members are entitled to nominate members for election as PPU National Chairman and as Treasurers for the ensuing year.

Nominations, which must carry the written consent of the member nominated to serve if elected, must be received by the General Secretary, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1, not later than the first post on February 20.

In the event of there being more than one valid nomination for either office, ballot papers will be issued as soon as possible after that date.

The present Chairman (Michael Tippet) is willing to serve for a second year, and the present Treasurers (Sybil Thorndike and Emrys Hughes) are willing to continue if desired.

Six members of PPU National Council have to be elected by the Area Representatives from a list to which any Group or two individual members are entitled to nominate.

Nominations for this list, which must carry the written consent of the member nominated to serve if elected, must be received by the General Secretary not later than the first post on March 20.

## IN EREWHON TODAY II

By Dick Darlington

DEAR DICK—

I quite appreciate your question: whether the existence of universal deterrents has led to the abolition of other armaments. There was an early demand for the abolition of compulsory military service, and for a time we gave way to this. But military service has produced social tendencies we had not intended. For instance, there grew up an increased demand for longer holidays with pay. Before the days of military service we had

We were even told in the News Chronicle that the military commanders in Cyprus didn't want any more soldiers there.

But it is not only Cyprus, there is the trouble in Jordan and elsewhere and although attempts are being made to patch things up, the causes of the trouble remain.

For the time has gone when we can quell the peoples of the Middle East by a display of armed force and by bribing their rulers.

Cyprus, we are now told, has become the most important British base in the Middle East. An enormous amount of money has been spent on the new runways for planes capable of bombing Russia's oil fields and industrial centres 800 miles away.

Mr. Dulles has been telling us of how recently we have been "on the brink of war." If we had gone over the brink this country would have been involved in it within a few hours. So would Cyprus.

There would have been a counter-attack on Cyprus—and one H-bomb on that island and it would have been "the base that was, a hole in the sea" as Captain Waterhouse told the House of Commons in the Suez Debate.

Nobody really believes that the base in Cyprus can defend Britain. Nobody can explain what really useful service to the country British conscripts are doing there! It is all part of the stupid policy of traditional British Imperialism which our Government is continuing, shutting its eyes to the realities and the facts.

The people of Glasgow are quite right in making this protest. It ought to become a national protest which should continue until the boys are brought home.

### NEXT WEEK: Gandhi Issue 1869-1948

#### Glasgow's "War on Want" week

WHAT was described as "a selection of the best international films describing the problem of world poverty and the exciting plans which are being undertaken to meet the menace," were shown during Glasgow's "War on Want" week which ended last Saturday in the Community House.

The Scottish Committee for War on Want had the support of the United Nations Association, the Society of Friends (Quakers), the Church of Scotland, the Baptist Church and other bodies in preparing the Exhibition, which with lectures and films made up the week's programme.

William Bayliss, foundation member of the Peace Pledge Union, who reaches his 80th birthday tomorrow, will be presented with a copy of George Seaver's "Albert Schweitzer," by Oxford pacifists.

## WELSH NATIONALISM AND PEACE

★ FROM PAGE ONE

and enable them to work for a common welfare. An abstract internationalism cannot do this, they say. But they would hasten to add that their nationalism is not greedy, uncritical, and power-hungry nationalism. Through the nation, they believe, people are best able to contribute to international welfare.

Plaid Cymru believes that human personality can develop fully only in a system which gives the individual the utmost freedom and responsibility. And in order that freedom and responsibility can become real, there must be a decentralisation of power and control in the international sphere, and also within the nation.

Nationalists argue that one of the main

enemies of humanity today is the power-state. They cite as examples the United States, the Soviet Union and the British Empire (excluding independent members of the Commonwealth). Balance of power, military alignments, coercion of other nations, and war are among the consequences of the power-state.

The antidote for the power-state, they say, is its break-up into its respective national units. Where a single nation has become a power-state, "the ambitious rulers must be sent packing." Imperialism is the "ism" of the power-state.

In light of this view each time a nation gains its self-rule and sets about to serve its own people and to take responsible action in building a peaceful world, the cause of freedom and peace throughout the world is strengthened.

#### The morality of nationhood

Regardless of the practical benefits which Welsh Nationalists believe would come from Welsh independence, they maintain that the most important factor is that it is morally right that each nation should be free and that men should work for their nation's self-rule.

Wales they argue, is a nation. (They quote Sir Winston Churchill as having admitted it in 1950 in a speech in Cardiff.) And therefore the Welsh people have a right and a responsibility to free their nation, and thus best serve their countrymen and the world. "Unless morality is out of date, nationalism is not out of date," they affirm.

\*H. W. J. Edwards: What is Welsh Nationalism? Cardiff, Plaid Cymru.

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REGINALD REYNOLDS

(Author of "Beware of Africans,"  
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Refreshments 7 to 7.30 p.m.

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## Mr. DULLES' SWORD

Of course we were brought to the verge of war. The ability to get to the verge without getting into war is the necessary art. If you cannot master it you inevitably get into war... on the question of enlarging the Korean war... getting into the Indo-China war... on the question of Formosa... we walked to the brink and we looked it in the face. We took strong action.

—Mr. Dulles, US Secretary of State, January, 1956.

... it is important that both Mr. Dulles and his British visitors (the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary), should address themselves to a clearer distinction between bomb-rattling and genuine deterrence. —The Observer, January 15, 1956.

IN the days when men fought with swords, the sound of rattling indicated that the sword had been loosened in its scabbard ready for drawing out quickly. It would indicate to the enemy a readiness to fight, which might act as a deterrent to any surprise move on his part.

Obviously, if it is possible for any particular weapon to act as a deterrent, the enemy must be shown, in no uncertain way, not only that the weapon is there, but that it is ready for use and, moreover, that the opponent is determined to use it.

Mr. Dulles' compatriots, however, are immensely shocked as apparently are the British Press, that the H-bomb, which they repeatedly declared to be the one deterrent against Communist domination, should in fact have been used for precisely that purpose.

The whole fallacy of the "deterrent" theory is revealed in this panic outburst. Naturally, pacifists hold no brief for Mr. Dulles' contentious utterances and belligerent behaviour, but neither can any brief be held for the pusillanimous mouthings of statesmen, who insist upon possessing nuclear weapons which they well know have the power to destroy life on this earth, and then refuse to face the fact that these weapons must be ready for use:

### GOOD H-BOMBS?

FOLLOWING the explosion of the Russian hydrogen bomb, the German Section of the War Resisters' International issued a statement asking why the World Peace Council and its German section, the West German Peace Committee remained silent regarding the test.

The statement recalled the vigorous protests by these two groups against the tests by Britain and America. "Are Russian atomic and hydrogen bombs less dangerous than the American variety?" it asked.

The War Resisters declared that they did not differentiate between Russian and American nuclear weapons and detested them both. The War Resisters' group in Nuremberg, Germany, distributed 30,000 leaflets throughout the city between October 22 and November 6.

The group also in co-operation with the youth group of the trade unions and other youth organisations arranged for a showing of the films "Children of Hiroshima" and "The Grapes of Wrath."

that the enemy must be shown they are ready for use; and that the enemy must be made to understand that behind it all is a grim determination to use them if necessary.

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What kind of a deterrent is a weapon which it has been decided in advance, will not be used? It would have seemed that the Prime Minister and his Foreign Secretary have enough to do in Washington without being asked to solve the unsolvable. It is significant that The Observer commentator does not himself make any suggestion as to the difference between "bomb rattling and genuine deterrence."

What in fact is "genuine deterrence" if it is not precisely what Mr. Dulles has said coming to the brink of war and letting it be known that the intention is to go beyond the brink if there is not a withdrawal or some kind of settlement?

Great armaments have always been defended on the grounds that they will deter; the fact that they have never succeeded in doing so does not, however, prevent this fable from continually circulating, and continually deceiving a gullible public.

The difference today is that the armaments if used, are likely to deter by the simple means of totally destroying life and the means of living on this planet. This is the impasse which the decision to make and use the H-bomb has brought our so-called civilisation. War has become another name for universal annihilation.

★

Terrified of its other name, vacillating world leaders have decided on yet another name: it is now known as "Deterrence." "There ain't gonna be no war!" cries Mr. Macmillan, and everyone relaxes, draws a deep sigh of relief, and rejoices that not only will the dreadful weapons not be used, but by their very existence the peace of the world is secured.

And now Mr. Dulles must needs burst out with the truth, shattering the spurious sense of security so carefully built up by the Press and the politicians. Now it is learned that he possesses this new "deterrent" we have several very narrow escapes from a nuclear weapon war.

That this is the logical conclusion of the whole false and immoral concept of "peace through strength" may now be more fully realised. It is to be hoped that this realisation will have some effect at Washington.

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Please accept a cordial invitation to you  
and your friends to our next discussion  
meeting.

FRIDAY - Jan. 20th, 7.30pm at the FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE  
( 32 Tavistock Sq., W.C. 1. - nr. Russell Sq. Underground)

The subject - vital to the future peace of the world, is

T H E   L I Q U I D A T I O N   O F   I M P E R I A L I S M

and will be introduced by

R e g i n a l d   R e y n o l d s

who has an exceptional first-hand knowledge of colonialism  
and the problems of African and Asian peoples, was a personal  
friend of Gandhi's during India's struggle for independence  
and has recently made a personal trip of investigation from  
end to end of Africa.

CHAIRMAN

REFRESHMENTS & BOOKSTALL

ALLEN SKINNER ( Assoc. Editor of Peace News )

7 - 7.30 pm .

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